1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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the heaps of refuse many feet deep, chiefly consisting of the shells of molluscs and the bones of animals. Such kitchen-middens, as they have been called, are to be found in numbers all around the coasts of the islands.

In the case of the coast-dwelling communities the camping sites are always close to the sea-shore or to a creek, so that they can be reached by canoe. In the case of those dwelling inland this is of course not so. In any case one of the chief factors determining the choice of the site is the existence of a supply of fresh water. This is of extreme importance in the case of a site to be occupied during the dry season when fresh water becomes scarce.

Within their own territory the local group is what we may speak of as semi-nomadic. The coast-dwellers rarely reside continuously at the same spot for more than a few months, but shift from one camp to another, moved by different causes. If a death occurs the camp is deserted for several months and a new one is occupied. A change of camp often takes place at a change of season, some spots presenting particular advantages, such as shelter from the prevailing wind, or better hunting or fishing, at certain times of the year. Another cause of the abandonment of a camp by the coast-dwellers is that all refuse is thrown away close to the camp, and after a few months the decaying animal matter thus accumulated renders the spot uninhabitable. The natives seem to find it easier to move their camp than to clear away their refuse. The truth is, perhaps, that they are so accustomed to change their camp from one spot to another, in order to make the best use of the natural resources available, that there is no necessity for them to take those sanitary measures that would be essential if they wished to remain for many months continuously at the same place.

The forest-dwellers are less nomadic in their habits than the coast-dwellers. One of the reasons for this is that as they cannot convey their belongings from one place to another by canoe, but must carry them overland, the moving of a camp is a more tiresome business with them than it is with the coast-dwellers. During a great part of the year the forest-dwellers

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were accustomed to remain at one camp, which was thus the chief camp of the group. In particular they would spend there the whole of the rainy season. During the cool and hot seasons they would leave the chief camp for a few months, leading during that time a more nomadic life, living in temporary hunting camps and paying visits to their friends in other groups. At the opening of the rainy season they would return once more to the main camp.

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The camps of the natives of the Great Andaman may be distinguished as being of three kinds. Of the first kind are what may be spoken of as permanent encampments. Certainly every group of the forest-dwellers, and probably every group of the coast-dwellers had its permanent encampment, which was, so to speak, the headquarters of the group. At this spot there would be erected either a communal hut, or a carefully built village. Communal huts have in recent times fallen into disuse, as the natives now wander about the islands much more freely than was their wont. I did not see a single one in the Great Andaman during my visit, though I was told of one that was falling to ruins in the interior of the Middle Andaman. One such communal hut was photographed in 1895 by M. L. Lapicque, at a spot called *Lekera-l'un-ta*[1]. It was perhaps the last that the natives of the Great Andaman erected. What the communal hut was like it is possible to discover both from the statements of the natives and also from the fact that they are still to the present day used by the natives of the Little Andaman and by the *Jarawa*. The hut was roughly circular in form and might be as big as 60 feet in diameter and 20 or 30 feet high at the centre. The shape was somewhat that of a beehive. Two concentric circles, one of tall posts near the centre and the other of shorter posts near the circumference, were connected by horizontal and sloping roof-timbers, and on these were laid and fastened a number of mats of palm-leaves. These mats reached, as a rule, as far as the ground, a small doorway being left on one side.

Such communal huts, while still used in the Little Andaman

[1] The photograph is reproduced in *Le Tour du Monde*, 1895, p. 447.

1: Radcliffe-Brown E-5 (1906-1908)1922
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is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each hut or in each of the family quarters. 512

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman *Kimil*, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

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221 222 262 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments.' While it is plentiful they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 262 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

005 It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

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violent storms (cyclones) are very rare. Between the rainy season proper and the cool season there is a period of six or eight weeks in which the weather is unsettled; the wind is variable; fine weather alternates with storms that are sometimes of terrific violence; waterspouts are frequent; it is at this season that violent cyclonic storms are likely to occur. This season is called by the Andamanese *Kimil* (*Gumul* of *Aka-Bea*). We have seen in the last chapter that the word *kimil* denotes a condition of social danger, or of contact with the power possessed by all things that can affect the life and safety of the society. It is obviously in this sense, and not as meaning "hot," that it is applied to the season in question, for the months of October and November are fairly cool, certainly very much cooler than February and March. We shall find that this is an important point in connection with the *Biliku* myth.

The life of the Andaman Islander is profoundly affected by the alternation of the seasons. There are, first of all, the violent cyclonic storms that occasionally occur. Such a storm may uproot the jungle for miles, making it impassable for years to come, and thus destroying some of the native hunting grounds. The wind is sometimes so violent as to tear every leaf from the trees in its path. While the storm lasts there is danger to the lives of the natives. An old man recounted to me how on the occasion of a violent cyclone he and the others of his village took refuge in the sea and on the open shore from the danger of falling trees, and remained there till the violence of the storm had abated. The usual name for a cyclone in *Aka-Jeru* is *tɔko-pɔ̃*, i.e. "falling wood" or "falling trees." Even if all the natives escape the danger of death or injury, there is still the extreme fear and discomfort of the experience. If a storm lasts for any length of time the natives, who are unable or afraid to go out hunting, have to do without food until it is over. Incidentally the storm may destroy their huts, canoes, and other property and thus cause loss that has to be made up by toil.

The second important effect of the seasons on the life of the Andamanese is through the food supply. During the cool season, and the succeeding hot season, a number of vegetable foods, including the very important roots and some of the most

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prized fruits, are available. On the other hand, during these seasons the land animals are in poor condition. In the hot season, at any rate, lizards, snakes and the civet-cat are not eaten. Pigs are breeding and are in such poor condition that often a pig that has been killed is left in the jungle as being not good enough to eat. The hot season is pre-eminently the season of honey, which is so abundant that the natives are able to obtain much more than they can consume. In the rainy season there are few vegetable foods and very little honey, but on the other hand the jungle animals are in good condition and flesh food is abundant; fish are more plentiful in this season than during the dry weather. In the *Kimil* season (October and November) the natives add to their food supply two varieties of grub (the laryæ of the cicada and of a beetle) which are regarded as great delicacies. Roughly we can say that the rainy season is the season of flesh food, the *Kimil* season is the season of grubs, the cool season is the season of fruits and roots, and the hot season is the season of honey.

By reference to the prevailing wind the year may be divided into two parts, the N.E. monsoon from November to May, and the S.W. monsoon from May to November.

I propose to show that the Andaman Islanders express the social value of the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, i.e., the way these phenomena affect the social life and the social sentiments, by means of legends and beliefs relating to the two mythical beings whom they call *Biliku* and *Tarai*. Using the word personification in a sense to be defined later in the chapter, we may say that the Andamanese personify the weather and the seasons in the persons of *Biliku* and *Tarai*. *Biliku* is associated with the N.E. monsoon; she lives in the N.E.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Biliku* wind"; to *Biliku*, therefore, belong the cool and the hot seasons, these being the seasons of the N.E. monsoon. *Tarai* is associated with the S.W. monsoon; he lives in the S.W.; the wind from that quarter is called "the *Tarai* wind," or, in *Aka-Bea*, simply *Deria*; to *Tarai* therefore belongs the rainy season. It is possible to show that the Andaman Islanders associate with these two beings all the phenomena of the weather and the seasons, and are able to

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184 world: on their arrival at Viper Island, they saw, for the first
115 time, Europeans, and a mode of living of which they could have previously formed no idea. *Wōĭs* companions returned to their tribe after spending a few months with us, but he, having lost his heart to one of the South Andaman houris, was without difficulty induced to remain behind, and settle down in our midst as a married man. As he speedily acquired a knowledge of the *bō·jig-ngī·ji-* dialect, we were enabled to question him on various points, besides those referred to in the statement which forms one of the appendices to this volume,[1] and thus learned much that was before unknown concerning the habits of the inland branch of the *·ôko-jū·wai-* tribe: the information thus obtained, when compared with the result of our own observations of the customs and mode of living of the communities in the vicinity of our settlement, afforded convincing proof of the universality of the customs and practices of the respective classes of *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* throughout Middle and South Andaman.

8. In Dr. Mouat's book mention is made of the capture of a youth, nicknamed "Jack," after a hostile encounter with some of the natives of Interview Island, from which circumstance it may be inferred that the lad belonged to the *·âkà-ked·e-* tribe, only one member of which had, till 1879, stayed amongst us, and he is an *ē·remtâ·ga-*, who had travelled out of curiosity as far as Middle Strait, and from thence had been persuaded by the chief of that district to accompany him to Port Blair. He proved himself very intelligent and active in all jungle accomplishments, but was entirely ignorant of fishing and turtling. After remaining with us a few months he was taken (in March, 1879), at his own request, to a point on the north-west coast of Middle Andaman, and landed with a heap of presents: his home, he informed us, was situated midway between that place and the east coast.

361 **Nomadism.**—1. Nomadism appears to be almost, if not
[768] entirely, confined to the *àryô·to-*, and even among them there
●221 are hamlets which are only abandoned temporarily, as with
166 the *ē·remtâ·ga-*, in consequence of a death, or of a *jeg-* (*i.e.*, "corroboree"), at some neighbouring encampment.

2. The nature of the temporary migrations which take place among the *ē·remtâ·ga-* during the dry season, as well as of those necessitated by a death, will be explained in subsequent sections. In the case of the *àryô·to-*, migrations are occasioned by a variety of circumstances, as, for instance, fishing operations being rendered impossible by a change in the wind, the

[1] *Vide* Appendix F, a free translation of which will be found in "Journ. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. xi, pp. 285–2

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361 suitability of a particular spot for fishing and turtling during certain phases of the moon, on account of the character of the 221 foreshore, or the configuration of the coast, and the hope of 166 meeting with better luck elsewhere—to these might be added the love of a change, and the prospect of seeing some of their friends; but it must not be supposed that a long journey is thereby involved; the move being generally made to a spot only a mile or two further on, and thus, by short stages, they sometimes proceed along the entire coast-line of their tribal territory, spending a few days or weeks at each halting place, according to the special attractions it may happen to possess in affording good sport on land or sea, or in supplying a rich harvest of fruit, honey, &c.

364 3. The necessity of a migration is also frequently forced on them by the consequences of their neglect to sweep away the refuse of their meals, it being regarded by these *insouciant* and unclean creatures as not worth their while to take so much trouble, when only a short stay is contemplated.

4. That the necessity for observing *some* sanitary measures has long since been recognised by the Andamanese is evident from the existence of numerous kitchen-middens throughout their territory, many of which are doubtless of remote origin. These refuse-heaps are still in course of formation by communities living at a distance from Port Blair, and are invariably found near camping grounds which have been, or are still more or less, permanently occupied. In those sites, where they are not seen, evidence is at once afforded of the temporary nature of the occupancy: the rubbish and refuse of food in these latter places is only swept aside if the ground be needed for a dance, wedding, or other ceremony, so that injury may not befall the revellers through inadvertently treading on a bone, stone, or shell. Crows, hermit-crabs, and, of late years, dogs, are the principal scavengers of these ill-ordered and dirty habitations, the two former performing their useful office as soon as a migration takes place.

342 **Habitations.**—1. We will now pass to the consideration of the three varieties of huts which are commonly met with in the permanent and temporary encampments throughout the territory of the eight Great Andaman tribes, and which are known as *chàng-tĕ̄pinga-*, *chàng-tŏ̄rnga-*, and *chàng-daranga*.

2. To commence with the *chàng-tĕ̄pinga-*, which is made by men, and erected in all permanent encampments as being the most durable. No particular kind of wood is used for the posts, which are four in number, two in front and two in rear, the former varying from six to nine feet in height, and the latter from two to three feet; upon these, slender rafters and two light transverse poles are secured, so as to form the framework of

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17. The fruit of three varieties of mangrove,[1] known to them as *jū·mu-*,[2] *ngâ·tya-*, and *bá·taga-*, are occasionally eaten, but only by way of change; they are prepared like the *kád-* (*vide* above).

18. The following table contains a fairly complete list of the different kinds of food eaten by the Andamanese during the varying seasons of the year; their ordinary diet, as will be gathered from the foregoing, consists of pigs,[3] paradoxurus, iguanas,[4] eggs of the hawkbill turtle, turtles, shell and other sea-fish and prawns, with occasional treats of dugong and porpoise,[5] and for married persons certain birds, already named: the fruit of the *Pandanus* and black honey must also be added, besides which, during the dry season, fresh-water fish, shell-fish, eggs of the green turtle, honey, the bee-bread, and that portion of the comb in which the larvæ are found, as well as the *Caryota sobolifera*, yams, and numerous fruits, about to be named, are eaten with great relish; while during the rains they vary their fare with preserved seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, *Semecarpus*,[6] and the fallen seeds of the *Entada pursætha*,[7] with three grubs, viz.: the *bū·tu-*, *pī·rigi-*, and the larvæ of the Great Capricornis beetle (*ði·yum-*), and certain fruits. Although on one occasion I saw a man (a member of the *.â·kà-.ked·e-* tribe) actually eat an *ði·yum-* alive (!) their usual practice is to collect a quantity of the above-named insects and to wrap them up in leaves and place them on the burning embers, turning the bundle from time to time, so that its contents may be thoroughly cooked, whereupon, in the case of the *bū·tu-*, after breaking off the tails, they are consumed with evident gusto.[8]

19. The native names[9] of most of the fruits in season during the dry (*a*), wet and cool (*b*) months are:—

[1] Some terrible calamity, such as another Deluge, would result, so they say, from any one rashly presuming to taste the fruit of a certain species of mangrove, called *tō·kal-*.

[2] *Bruguiera gymnorhiza*.

[3] Not only are the sows eaten when with young, but even their unborn litter is not rejected.

[4] Iguanas and paradoxuri are in better condition during the rains, and are consequently more eaten at that season.

[5] There are special restrictions connected with eating both the dugong and porpoise for the first time (*vide post* "Tabu," paragraph 2).

[6] *Vide* paragraph 32.

[7] *Vide ante* "Religious Beliefs, &c.," paragraph 12.

[8] The *ði·yum-* is found in newly fallen logs, and they say that they do not treat it like the *bū·tu*—viz., in breaking off its tail—because it does not live in such rotten Gurjon trees.

[9] The botanical names of most of these, as well as of many others, will be found in Appendix L.

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(*a*)

•‡*máng-*
•‡*i·til-*
either cooked or uncooked.
dō·gota-
já-
ŭ·dala-
kón-
§*châ·kan-*
•*bō·to-kó·ko-*
kŭ·nra-
§*pŭ·lia-*
§*pŭ·lain-*
•*pi·dga-*
§*gel·dim-*
•*ó·rta-tăt-*
•†§*chuij-*
kăr·ega-
ŭd-
§*ñgē·bĕr-*
§*ē·mej-*
•*eng·ara-*
§*lō·gaj-*

(N.B.—The best fruits, and those which are most abundant, are in season during these months and at the commencement of the rains.)

(*b*)

†*ó·ropa-*
§*pâ-*
•†*kai-*
†§*kai·ta-*
†*chôb-*
†*ō·dorma-*
•*á·bnga-*
§ *jū·mu-*, *ngá·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*
•*kâ·pa-*
pi·cha-
§*pai·tla-*
•*kăr·ed-*[1]
§•*jang·ma-*[2]
•*jī·ni-*
†*pŭ·ta-*
•*pór-*
•*úm-*
•†*mŭ·twin-*
tá·tib-
•*eng·ara-*

During the *pâ·par-wáb-* (cool season) and *yē·re-bō·do-* (dry months) the six varieties of edible roots mentioned above (*vide* paragraph 11) are also eaten.

(It will be understood that those fruits that are unmarked in the above list are eaten in the ordinary way).

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20. Many fruits they merely suck for the sake of the flavour ;[3] others are eaten with fine wood-ash,[4] taken from the hut fires *in lieu of sugar*, to diminish their extreme acidity,[5] while a few are cooked,[6] and the stones of several[7] are cracked for the sake of their kernels. The favourite fruits are *dō·gota-*, *ó·ropa-*, *kón-*, *chôb-*, *já-*, *pâ-*, *kai·ta-*, *kăr·ega-*, *châ·kan-*, *jū·mu-*, *ngá·tya-*, *bâ·taga-*, *ñgē·bĕr-*, *pŭ·lia-*, and *pŭ·lain-*.

21. The fruit of the *ñgē·bĕr-*, *châ·kan-*, *pŭ·lia-*, *pŭ·lain-*, *pai·tla-*, *gel·dim-*, *lō·gaj-*, and the seeds of the three above-named varieties of mangrove (*i.e.*, *jū·mu-*, *ngá·tya-*, and *bâ·taga-*), are freed from their husk or rind and boiled in water until quite soft ; when cold they are cut in slices, and left to soak for two days or more in salt or fresh water, after which they are baked in leaves, or again boiled in a *būj-*.

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22. The Andamanese are, now-a-days at least,[8] extremely particular over the cooking of their food, and will not eat certain

[1] This is a small yellow fruit, the seed of which, after being sucked, is broken, and the outer portion eaten while the kernel is thrown away.

[2] This is a small red fruit, about the size of a bean or filbert, containing one stone ; it is wrapped in leaves and baked, because they say that if eaten uncooked it would cause them to forget their way in the jungle, as well as entire loss of memory on all points.

[3] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a •

[4] Their immunity from scurvy may not improbably be due to the chemical combination of the acid, contained in many of the fruits, with the potash of the burnt wood.

[5] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a †.

[6] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a §.

[7] These are marked in the preceding paragraph by a ‡.

[8] They are very expert in spearing their fish, which they consume in a half-cooked state (Anderson) ; Symes also writes that "they throw the food on the fire, and devour it half broiled."